

Spec. Coll.

SPEECH
OF
HON. THADDEUS STEVENS,
OF PENNSYLVANIA,
ON THE BILL
TO RAISE ADDITIONAL SOLDIERS.

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEB. 2, 1863.

The House having under consideration the bill to raise additional soldiers for the service of the Government, Mr. STEVENS said :

Mr. SPEAKER: In the course of this protracted debate, no gentleman has expressed his opinions with more candor than the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MAY] who has just taken his seat. He avows his hostility to this bill because he is opposed to the war. I do not expect any gentleman who will avow himself opposed to the war to vote for this bill, because I am quite sure that the bill itself is a very efficient engine in carrying on this war. Hence the gentleman from Maryland cannot be expected to vote for a bill whose beneficial effects on the war are so evident. This bill has been opposed on various grounds; by some true and loyal men, whose prudence, however, generally degenerates into timidity; by others on that side of the House whom I am not at liberty to deem disloyal, but whose arguments and acts compel the belief that they are strong sympathizers with their "wayward sisters."

It said that we have already so large an army that we have no need of more soldiers, and that this will cause a needless expense. It will require some three or four months to raise one hundred and fifty thousand. By that time, about June, the time of the two years men of New York, and of the nine months men, will expire. They will take from the Army, I think, at least three hundred thousand men. How are you to supply their place except by colored soldiers? It is said by our opponents that in the present temper of the country you could not raise in the whole North fifty thousand men by voluntary enlistment, and that to enforce conscription is out of the question. It may be so; and if it be so, it is useless, perhaps, to inquire what has produced this condition of the public mind. No doubt the unhappy management of the war, and want of successful battles, have done something toward it. An unsuccessful war is always unpopular.

Another great cause is the conduct of partisan demagogues. The Democratic leaders—and when I speak of Democrats in these remarks, I beg to be understood as not including those true Democrats who support the war and give their aid to the Administration—the Democratic leaders, I say, have been busy for the last year in denouncing the war and the Administration. They tell the people that this is an abolition war, a war for the negro, and not for the Union; that our southern brethren have been injured, and that we ought to lay down our arms and compromise. During the last electioneering campaign throughout Pennsylvania, and I suppose the whole North, when the new volunteers were called for, Democratic leaders traveled everywhere and advised that no Democrat should volunteer, but stay at home and carry the election and regain power. The masses followed their advice; scarcely any Democrats joined the volunteers.

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58

Another thing that has cooled the ardor of the people is the rivalry among the officers, and the evident sympathy of a large portion of them with the rebels. Our armies have been in the hands of men who had no heart in the cause, and who have demoralized the Army; and such demoralization has been transferred to their friends at home. Hence, if we are to continue this war, we must call in the aid of Africans, slaves as well as freemen.

But gentlemen speak boastfully of the power of the white men of the North, and that we have a million men in the field, and need no other aid. Sir, I have as high an opinion of the valor of northern men as any man can have; but, instead of having a million, I do not believe we have now half that number of effective soldiers. Sickness, the sword, and absentecism have taken half our troops; and in four months one fourth more will be taken by the expiration of their time.

But suppose we could recruit our armies by white volunteers, is that any argument against employing blacks? Why should our race be exposed to suffering and disease, when the African might endure his equal share of it? Is it wise, is it humane, to send your kindred to battle and to death when you might put the colored man in the ranks, and let him bear a part of the conflict between the rebels and his enfranchised slave? Why should these bloody graves be filled with our relatives rather than with the property of traitors slain by their own masters, who, in their turn, would fall by the hands of the oppressed? I have but little respect for the northern man who would save the rebels' property at the expense of the life of white men.

We have heard repeated the usual slang of Democrats, so freely and falsely used by them to prejudice the minds of the people, that Republicans are trying to make the black man equal in all things to the white. The distinguished gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. WICKLIFFE] and his allies from Ohio have talked of Sambo's commanding white men. Sir, the bill contains no such provisions. They are to be employed only as soldiers or non-commissioned officers as is provided by the original bill and by the amendments as now proposed. I do not expect to live to see the day when, in this Christian land, merit shall counterbalance the crime of color. True, we propose to give them an equal chance to meet death on the battle-field. But even then, their great achievements, if equal to those of Dessalines, would give them no hope of honor. The only place where they can find equality is in the grave. There all God's children are equal.

But it is said that our soldiers would object to their employment in arms. It would be a strange taste that would prefer, themselves, to face the death-bearing heights of Fredericksburg, and to be buried in trenches at the foot of them, than to see it done by colored soldiers. I do not believe it. My colleague [Mr. WRIGHT] said that he had heard some of our officers say that if we thus used them they would lay down their arms and retire from the army. In God's name let them go. They are rebels in heart, and ought to be in the confederate army rather than in ours, to demoralize our soldiers. My colleague ought to report their names to the proper department, that they may be tried and inexorably shot.

The gentleman from Kentucky objects to their employment, lest it should lead to the freedom of the blacks. He says that he fights *only* for the freedom of his own white race. That sentiment is unworthy the high reputation of the friend and compeer of the great statesman of the West. That patriotism that is wholly absorbed by one's own country is narrow and selfish. That philanthropy which embraces only one's own race, and leaves the other numerous races of mankind to bondage and to misery, is cruel and detestable. But we are not fighting for the freedom of the slaves—we are fighting for the life of the nation; and if, in the heat of ~~such~~ strife, the chains of the bondman are melted off, I thank God all the more. The distinguished, and, I would fain believe, the learned, gentleman from Kentucky exclaimed: "When before did any civilized country call on slaves to fight their battles? When did Sparta, or Athens, or Rome?" I must attribute this interrogative assertion to lack of memory.

I ask, when did any civilized nation refuse to use their slaves in the defence of their country, when its exigencies required it? Never! All have used

them, and uniformly given their freedom for their services. Sparta and Athens on many occasions armed their Helots. They were always their armor-bearers. That I may not be suspected of speaking without authority, I will read a few passages from Roman history. In Arnold's Rome, it is said:

"The other consul, Tiberius Sempronius, was to have no other Roman army than two legions of volunteer slaves."—Page 175.

"A graduated property tax was imposed for the occasion. They were required to furnish a certain number of slaves as seamen; to arm and equip them," &c.—Page 192.

"The slaves, also, were again invited to enlist, and two legions were composed out of them."—Page 192.

"But there is no reason to doubt that Gracchus gained an important victory; and it was rendered famous by his giving liberty to the volunteer slaves by whose valor it had mainly been won. Some of these behaved ill in the action, and were afraid they should be punished, rather than rewarded; but Gracchus first set them all free without distinction, and then sending for those who had misbehaved, made them severally swear that they would eat and drink standing so long as their military service should last, by way of penance for their fault. Such a sentence, so different from the usual merciless severity of the Roman discipline, added to the general joy of the army. The soldiers marched back to Beneventum in triumph, and the people poured out to meet them, and entreated Gracchus that they might invite them all to a public entertainment. Tables were set out in the streets, and the freed slaves attracted every one's notice by their white caps, the well-known sign of their enfranchisement, and by the strange sight of those who, in the fulfilment of their penance, ate standing, and waited on their worthy comrades. The whole delighted the generous and kind nature Gracchus. To set free the slave and to relieve the poor appear to have been hereditary virtues in his family."—Page 295.

How different was the heart of the pagan Graechus from the heart of the Christian Kentuckian! How different the feelings of the noble Roman people from what is, I believe falsely, alleged to be the feelings of our brave soldiers! As the speech of the gentleman from Kentucky is not yet published, I beg respectfully to suggest whether his reputation does not require that he should correct its history.

But we are told that Kentucky will resist; that our recruiting officers will be driven pell-mell from the State; that the proclamation is unconstitutional; and that we and the President are doing mischief and aggravating the South. Sir, that sounds so exactly like what I was accustomed to hear from that side of the House some years ago, when those seats were occupied by those who are now officers in the rebel army, that I am fain to inquire whether their spirit has not been left behind them.

It is vain to deny that the Democratic party as now organized, having received into their embraces the border State men, are using every effort to obstruct the war, to embarrass the Administration, and thus compel us to lay down our arms and submit to peace such as Jeff. Davis shall dictate. I say the old slaveholding Whigs have become a part of the Democratic party. If I am rightly informed, the distinguished gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. CATTENDEN] last summer wrote a letter into his district in favor of the re-election of the gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. Cox]. I had hardly expected to see the day when that distinguished leader of the Whigs should become the subaltern and train to the command of the gentlemen from Ohio, [Messrs. VALLANDIGHAM and Cox].

My colleague said that when we laid down at night we were not sure that when we aroose in the morning we should have a Government. I appreciate the intimation, for I verily believe that the Democratic party throughout the North are holding secret meetings under the name of Knights of the Golden Circle, and plotting to seize the Government and depose the President. I do not believe they will succeed, but I have sufficient evidence that such is their intention.

Two years ago, when I had occasion to address this House, I declared my conviction that neither Congress, nor the Administration, nor the people, realized the magnitude of the war in which we were engaged, and the difficulty of its suppression; that the rebels were as brave as we, and had better generals, who were more in earnest than our own; that men who, after a deliberation of thirty years, had entered upon so perilous an enterprise, involving property, wife and children, and their own lives, would never submit until they were totally exhausted and unable to continue the war; and that that would never be done until you took from them their support—

the slaves. I have seen no reason to change my opinion. I have seen two years of bloody war elapse with balanced success. I have seen our debt accumulate to a grievous amount. I have seen many a bleeding heart; many a mother weeping for her slaughtered son, tens of thousands of our neighbors gone to an untimely grave, and the rebels are not yet subdued. And yet we are told that we must not stop the further effusion of white blood by the employment of the oppressed slave against his oppressor. Sir, to which side do such men belong? Are they with the Republic, or are they like Cethegus and Lentulus sitting in the Roman senate, while their associate, Catiline, was with the rebel army outside the walls?

But they say this tends to excite servile war. I believe no such thing. Disciplined troops under the Articles of War do not engage in insurrection. But suppose it were so: which is the most cruel, which the most to be deprecated—an exterminating war between the oppressed and his oppressor, or a murderous warfare by uninjured citizens against the unoffending Government which had protected them, and was the hope of the freedom of the world? Can servile war produce more inhuman scenes than are now enacted by the rebels? Here is one of frequent instances, as given in an Indiana democratic paper:

"REBELS SHOOTING NEGROES."—We have noticed the fact of the shooting of the negroes found on the Union transports lately burned by the rebels at Harpeth Shoals, on the Cumberland. The New Albany (Indiana) Ledger, of the 20th, gives the following account of the affair:

"The most atrocious and cold-blooded affair of the present war is the shooting of some eighteen of the negro cabin boys and cooks on the steamers lately captured at Harpeth Shoals. These men and boys were tied and taken to an open field near the Shoals, and deliberately shot down in cold blood. Two of the negro servants on the Sidell got in between the wheel and stern of the boat, and let themselves down into the water, holding on to the rudder. They were discovered by the rebels, and several soldiers were ordered into a skiff, and rowing close up to the unfortunate negroes, discharged the contents of their muskets at them, literally blowing their heads into atoms.

"The damnable villainy of such cold-blooded murder cannot but fill every heart with the fiercest indignation, and will beget measures of the bloodiest retaliation.

"The life of the chambermaid of the Trio was saved by Mr. Hurly, the clerk, claiming her as his slave whom he was removing to Kentucky. And even with this pretext, he had the greatest difficulty in saving her from death at the hands of the bloody-minded commander of the rebels, Colonel Wade. We hope this scoundrel may be captured, and if he is, quartering would be a slight penalty for his villainous murder of these unoffending negroes. His acts of barbarity have scarcely an equal even in the history of the most savage warfare."

Mr. CRAVENS. Nevertheless, that is a loyal paper, true to the Constitution and the Union.

Mr. STEVENS. I do not doubt that. If a servile war were the only means to save this Republic, I should welcome it as a measure of humanity.

I regret that anybody, in these days of trouble, should take advantage of the condition of the country, as the Democrats have done, for party purposes. But I am not surprised at it. Eighteen months ago, when we were passing our tax bill, so absolutely necessary to sustain the war, the gentleman from Ohio threatened us with its effect on our party. I answered him that I knew what use would be made of it by unprincipled demagogues who preferred party to country; that I knew how odious taxation always was; and that the unthinking masses would be swayed by those feelings.

I went further, and said, what I remember our friends thought indiscreet and incorrect, that I expected to see the next Congress in other Republican hands. But no such considerations could control my conduct. I should do what I believed the country required, even at the sacrifice of political power. I have not changed my mind; and unless we put more energy into the commanding generals, and gain victories, all I predicted will happen. What then? Why, such triumphs are the triumphs of the friends of the rebellion, and will do more to divide the Union than twenty rebel victories. The secession newspapers all treat a Democratic victory as their victory. And they expect when they come into power that their independence will be acknowledged without delay. So the foreign Governments look upon it. Within a few days, Senator Foote offered the following resolutions in the confederate congress, and they were received with favor:

"The people of the confederate States of America having, in the progress of the pending war, most clearly demonstrated their ability to maintain by arms the claim to separate independence, which they have heretofore asserted before the world, and being inflexibly resolved never to relinquish the struggle in which they are engaged until the great struggle for which they have been contending shall have been finally accomplished; in view of the fact that a great political reaction in opposition to the bloody and unnatural war now in course of prosecution has displayed itself in several of the most populous and influential States of what was once honorably known as 'The United States of America'; and in view of the additional fact that, even among the avowed opponents of despotism and the recognized friends of peace in the North, a grave and deplorable misapprehension has of late arisen in regard to the true condition of public sentiment in the South touching the question of reconstructing that political Union once existing under the protection of what is known as the Federal Constitution: now, in order that no further misunderstanding of the kind referred to may hereafter prevail, and in order that the unchangeable determination of our government and people, in reference to the terms upon which alone they would bring the sanguinary struggle to a close, may be made known, the congress of the confederate States of America do resolve as follows:

"1. There is no plan of reconstructing what was formerly known as the Federal Union, to which the people of the confederate States will ever consent. Wrongs too grievous and multiplied have been committed upon us and upon our most cherished rights, by a united North, since this unprovoked and most wicked war commenced: a majority of the people of the Northern States have too evidently shown themselves to be utterly incapable of self-government and unmindful of all the fundamental principles upon which alone republican institutions can be maintained: they have too long submitted patiently to the iron rule of the basest and most degraded despotism that the world has yet known; for too long a period of time they have openly and unblushingly sympathized with the lawless and ferocious miscreants who have been sent into the bosom of the offending South to spill the precious blood of our most valued citizens—to pollute and desecrate all that we hold in especial respect and veneration—to rob us of our property—to expel us from our homes, and wantonly to devastate our country—to allow even of the possibility of our ever again consenting to hold the least political connection with those who have so cruelly outraged our sensibilities, and so profoundly dishonored themselves, and in association with whom we feel that we could not expect that freedom which we love, that self-respect which we are determined ever to cultivate, and the esteem and sympathy of civilized and Christian nations.

"2. While the confederate States of America are not at all responsible for the existing war, and have been at all times ready to participate in such arrangements as would be best suited to bring it to a close, in a manner consistent with their own safety and honor, they could not yield their consent to an *armistice* of a single day or hour, so long as the incendiary proclamation of the atrocious monster now bearing rule in Washington City shall remain unrevoked; nor could the government of said confederate States agree to negotiate at all in regard to a suspension of hostilities, except upon the basis of a formal and unconditional recognition of their independence.

"3. Whenever the friends of peace in the North shall grow strong enough to constrain Abraham Lincoln and his flagitious Cabinet to withdraw said proclamation, and propose an armistice upon the basis aforesaid, the government of the confederate States will be ready to accede to said proposition of armistice with a view to the settlement of all the existing difficulties.

"4. Should peace be at any time brought about, the confederate States of America would freely consent to the formation of a just and mutually advantageous commercial treaty with all the States now constituting the United States, except New England—with whose people, and in whose ignoble love of gold and brutalizing fanaticism, this disgraceful war has mainly originated; in consideration of which fact the people of the confederate States of America are firmly and deliberately resolved to have no intercourse whatever hereafter, either direct or indirect, political, commercial, or social, under any circumstances which could be possibly imagined to exist, with said States of New England or the people therein resident.

"5. The government of the confederate States, in consideration of the change in public sentiment which has occurred in several of the northern States, wherein political elections have been recently held—sympathizing most kindly with those by whose many exertions that change has been brought about—would be willing to conclude a just and honorable peace with any one or more of said States who (renouncing all political connections with New England) may be found willing to stipulate for desisting at once from the further prosecution of the war against the South, and in such case the government of the confederate States would be willing to enter into a league, offensive and defensive, with the States thus desisting, of a permanent and enduring character.

"6. The government of the confederate States is now willing, as it has heretofore repeatedly avowed itself to be, whenever the States bordering upon the Mississippi river, or any of them, shall have declared their inclination to withdraw from the further prosecution of the war upon the South, [which, could it be successful, would only have the effect of destroying their own best market,] to guaranty to them, in the most effectual and satisfactory manner, the peaceful and uninterrupted navigation of the said Mississippi river and its tributaries, and to open to them at once the markets of the South, greatly enhanced in value to them as they would be by the permanent exclusion of all articles of New England growth or manufacture.

"7. The course of practical neutrality in regard to the pending war heretofore pursued by the States and territories west of the Rocky mountains, has afforded the highest gratification to the people of the confederate States of America; and it is hoped that the day is not far distant when said States and Territories, consulting their own obvious safety and future welfare, will withdraw from all political connection with a Government which has heretofore been a source of continual oppression to them; and when said States and Territories, asserting their separate independence, shall appropriate to themselves the manifold advantages sure to result from such a movement; among which may be reckoned: 1. Relief from grievous and exorbitant tariff regulations now being rigidly enforced. 2. Relief from all the discredit result-

ing inevitably from the prosecution of the present unjust and unauthorized war. 3. Relief from the pressure of a despotism the most heartless and atrocious ever yet established. 4. Relief from the crushing weight of taxation unavoidably growing out of the war. 5. The exclusive use and enjoyment of all the rich mineral lands stretching along the slope of the Pacific. 6. Free trade with all the nations of the earth, and a future maritime growth and power that has no parallel; and lastly, a monopoly of the trade of the Pacific ocean.

"*S. Resolved*, That the president be respectfully requested, if he shall approve these resolutions, to cause them to be promulgated and transmitted to the States of the North by such means as he shall deem most judicious; and that he accompany them, if he shall think it advisable, with such an address or proclamation expository of the matters embodied therein as he shall judge most suitable and proper."

I have been at a loss to decide who was the real author of these resolutions; whether one of the gentlemen from Ohio [Mr. Cox or Mr. VALLANDIGHAM] or the rebel senator himself. After stating most distinctly what they have always adhered to, that they would accept no negotiation except on the basis of absolute independence, they express a hope that, in view of the great political reaction, their friends, the Democrats, in the North will soon be able to offer such proposition. They will hold no negotiations with the "*atrocious monster*," Abraham Lincoln; but when their friends, the Democrats, (this is a fair inference,) shall compel Lincoln and his "*atrocious*" Cabinet to withdraw his infamous proclamation, (which Foote hates about as bad as the other side of this House,) they will entertain terms of peace with all the old States except New England. She must be forever excluded from the new Union to be formed between the Democratic party and the traitors. Now, sir, I am at a loss to know whether Foote stole the ideas from the gentlemen from Ohio, or whether they stole them from him. I think they were first promulgated by the northern party in New York. It is very evident, however, that the parties had a full understanding of each other's views. Such remarkable concurrence of plans and ideas could hardly be accidental.

The gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. Cox,] in answer to the gentleman from Iowa, [Mr. WILSON,] denied that in his New York speech he advised the exclusion of New England, as Foote does. I do not say that, in a direct and candid language as the rebel senator, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Cox] made that recommendation. He denies it. I have looked at his speech within the last few minutes, and am reminded by it of the speech of another famous orator of ancient times, Marc Antony. [Laughter.] The gentleman from Ohio tells the people of New York that there is a growing determination on the part of the people of the Northwest not to hold any further communion with the people of New England. He hopes that that feeling will not prevail; and then he goes on, through about four pages, to denounce New England as unworthy of such association, and as deserving to be excluded from the Union.

I remember that Marc Antony was allowed to deliver an oration at the funeral of Cæsar, only on the condition that he would not attempt to stir up sedition. In that speech he says:

"But Brutus says, he was ambitious,
And Brutus is an honorable man;
So are they all; all honorable men."
* * * * *

"I come to bury Cæsar, not to praise him."
* * * * *

"But Brutus says, he was ambitious,
And Brutus is an honorable man."
* * * * *

"Cæsar brought many captives home to Rome,
Whose ransoms did the general coffers fill."
* * * * *

"When that the poor have cried, Cæsar hath wept:
Yet Brutus says, he was ambitious,
And Brutus is an honorable man."

He tells the people that Cæsar had made them his heir by his will, and then showing his bloody mantle, he cried:

"Look! in this place ran Cassius' dagger through;
See, what a rent the envious Casca made;
Through this, the well-beloved Brutus stabb'd."

And then, very Cox-like, he cried:

"Good friends, sweet friends, let me not stir you up,
They that have done this deed are honorable."

That seems precisely the way in which my friend from Ohio goes on. I will read one or two words from his speech, which he has kindly loaned me in illustration. After denouncing New England in the bitterest terms, he says:

"The West do not complain merely that their interests are sacrificed by New England capitalism for their aggrandizement, but they detest the idea of Puritan politics."

Page 5, again:

"In the history which posterity will read, the puritans will play the part of intermeddling destrucitives, self-willed and intolerant beyond any characters yet known in history." "If she is not driven from the Union, she will be humiliated in it."

But, friends, good friends, let me not stir you up.

"Brutus is an honorable man;
So are they all; all honorable men."

The gentleman from Ohio would not at all stir up disunion. He came "to bury Caesar, not to praise him."

It is said that colored soldiers are cowardly and unfit for battle. I will not repeat what I have already said on that point. But all history contradicts it; from the time of Juba and Syphax and the terrible Numidian cavalry, down through our revolution and the armies of Jackson, to the present time. I send you living evidences in the letter of Gen. Saxton, which the Clerk will please read.

The Clerk read, as follows:

BRAUFORT, SOUTH CAROLINA, January 25, 1863.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to report that the organization of the first regiment of South Carolina volunteers is now completed. The regiment is light infantry, composed of ten companies of about eighty-six men each, armed with muskets and officered by white men. In organization, drill, discipline, and morale, this regiment, for the length of time it has been in service, is not surpassed by any white regiment in this department. Should it ever be the good fortune to get into action, I have no fear but it will win its own way to the confidence of those who are willing to recognize courage and manhood, and vindicate the wise policy of the Administration in putting these men into the field, and giving them a chance to strike a blow for the country and their own liberty. In no regiment have I ever seen duty performed with so much cheerfulness and alacrity; and as sentinels, they are peculiarly vigilant. I have never seen, in any body of men, such enthusiasm and deep-seated devotion to their officers as exists in this: they will surely go wherever they are led. Every man is a volunteer, and seems fully persuaded of the importance of his service to his race. In the organization of this regiment I have labored under difficulties which might have discouraged one who had less faith in the wisdom of the measure; but I am glad to report that the experiment is a complete success. My belief is, that when we get a footing on the main land, regiments may be raised which will do more than any now in service to put an end to this rebellion.

I have sent the regiment on an expedition to the coast of Georgia, the result of which I shall report for your information as soon as it returns. I have the honor, also, to report that I have commenced the organization of the second regiment, which is to be commanded by Colonel Montgomery.

I am, sir, with great respect, your obedient servant,

R. SAXTON, Brigadier General.

HON. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

MR. DIVEN. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the testimony furnished in favor of the employment of the slave, I desire to supply the testimony of the most remarkable man of modern Italy, who, while an exile from his beloved country, with all the ardor of his nature, entered the service of the Republicans of Brazil, who were seeking to extricate themselves from the tyranny of the Brazilian emperor. In the description of one of the battles between the Republican and Imperial parties, I find this passage:

"The terrible lancers of Canabarro had already made a movement forward, confusing the right flank of the enemy, which was therefore obliged to change front in confusion. The brave freedmen, proud of their force, became more firm and resolute, and that incomparable corps presented to view a forest of lances, being composed entirely of slaves liberated by the republic and chosen from the best horse tamers in the province, and all of them blacks, even the superior officers. The enemy had never seen the backs of those true sons of liberty."

Their lances, which were longer than the common measure, their ebony faces and robust limbs, strengthened by perennial and laborious exercise, and their perfect discipline, struck terror into the enemy."

A MEMBER. What do you read from?

Mr. DIVEN. From the Life of Garibaldi by himself, page 63.

Mr. STEVENS. My colleague from Luzerne says the true way to succeed is to restore Gen. McClellan. I know the Democratic officers and others have been tampering with the Army through disloyal newspapers and otherwise to inculcate that idea among the soldiers. Sir, when the success of this war depends on one man's word, it is time to surrender our independence. But I have a better opinion of our citizen soldiers. I was a friend of Gen. McClellan, although unacquainted with him, because his excellent and able father was one of my most intimate friends. But when I learn from authentic records that he deliberately and habitually disobeyed the explicit orders of the President and the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, (and I may say here that I have reason to know that he treated the gallant Lieutenant General before he retired in the same way,) I think he has reason to be thankful that he has escaped without severe punishment. No other nation in the world would have permitted it. Many would have visited it with death.

My colleague is still hopeful, because he says there is a God. Yes, sir, I believe there is a God, an avenging God, who is now punishing the sins of this nation for the wicked wrongs which for centuries we have inflicted on a blameless race, and which many of you wish to make perpetual. I will say to my colleague, and to those who believe in divine retribution, what I have before said; "hasten to do justice and stay the sword of the destroying angel."

I believe that if the course which we now propose had been adopted eighteen months ago, we should now have peace and universal liberty on this continent. But the timidity of conservatives, the clamor of Democratic demagogues, and the insidious counsels of Kentucky prevented our excellent and kind-hearted President from making stern resolves, and using every legitimate means to crush the rebels. Sir, I would not have on my conscience the blood of the tens of thousands who have thus been sacrificed, and which must rest on the souls of its authors, for all the spoils of office, for all the allurements of the presidential chair, nor for all the diamonds that ever glittered in Geleonda.

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